



1. Constantine the Great, c.1402, silver, 88mm., Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)



2. Heraclius, c.1402, silver, 97mm., Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)

THE CONSTANTINE AND HERACLIUS MEDALLIONS

PENDANTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

Tanja L. Jones

Scholars have long suggested that, along with ancient Roman coins, two medallions produced at the court of Jean, duc de Berry (r.1360-1416) served as models for Pisanello's invention of the cast portrait medal in the 1430s.¹ The Berry medallions, which depict the Roman emperor Constantine (r.306-37) and the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r.610-41), have been the subject of scholarly discussion since the sixteenth century, but the form of the objects and the political circumstances surrounding their creation have never been addressed in tandem.² The present study considers these interrelated issues in light of a revised reading of the Berry medallions as imitations of *enkolpia* – Byzantine breast pendants and reliquary medallions. Recognising the form of the Berry medallions as based upon a class of Christian devotional objects augments our perception of the medallions' function at the French court and adds a new dimension to our understanding of the creation of the Italian Renaissance medal.

Study of the Constantine and Heraclius medallions is complicated by the loss of the original objects, which disappeared soon after the death of Jean de Berry in 1416.³ A combination of visual and textual evidence does, however, allow us to reconstruct their appearance. Detailed descriptions of both medallions survive in the inventories of the duke's extensive collections of *joyaux*, or precious objects, drawn up in 1413.⁴ The entries record that the medallions were circular, bore relief imagery and inscriptions on each side, were crafted in gold, adorned with precious and semi-precious stones around the perimeter, and were suspended from chains. Given the importance of the inventory entries to the discussion that follows, they are given here in full.⁵

199. Item, un autre joyau d'or roont, de haulte taille, ouquel est contrefait d'un des costez Constantin à cheval et a escript à l'environ: Constantinus in Christo deo fidelis imperator et moderator Romanorum et semper Augustus, et de l'autre costé a deux femmes, et ou milieu d'icelles un fontaine où il a un arbre, et dedens ledit arbre une croix, et a escript à l'environ: Michi absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Jhesu Christi; et est ledit joyau garni entour de deux balaiz, deux saphirs et de vint grosses perles tout à jour; et pend à une chaînette d'or faicte de boutons d'or roons en manière de paternostres; le quel joyau Monseigneur achata en sa ville de Bourges de Antoine Manchin, marchand de Florence demourant à Paris, le II^e jour de novembre l'an mil CCCC et deux, la somme de XI^e frans.

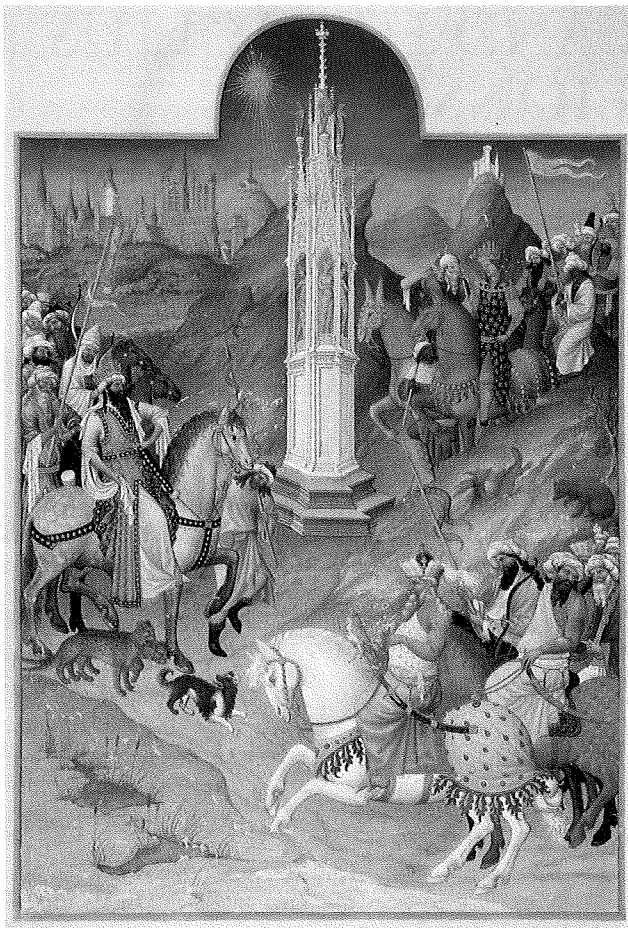
200. Item, un autre joyau d'or roont, de haulte taille, où il a d'un des costez la figure d'un empereur appellé Eracle en un croissant, et son tiltre escript en grec, exposé en François en

ceste manière: Eracle en Jhesu Crist Dieu, féal empereur et moderateur des Romains, victeur et triumpheateur tousjours Auguste; et de ce mesmes costé a escript en latin: Illumina vultum tuum Deus; super tenebras nostras militabor in gentibus; et de l'autre est la figure dudit empereur tenant une croix, assis en un char à trois chevaux, et dessus sa teste a plusieurs lampes, et ou milieu du cercle où sont lesdictes lampes a escript en grec exposé en François ce qui s'ensuit: Gloire soit es cieulx à Jhesu Crist Dieu qui a rompu les portes d'enfer et rachatée la croix sainte, imperant Eracle. Et est ledit joyau garni entour de quatre saphirs et quatre grosses perles, et pend à une chaînette d'or engoulée de deux testes de serpent.

(199. Item, another round *joyau* of gold, in high relief, upon which is imitated on one of the sides Constantine on horseback and inscribed in the surround: Constantine, faithful in Christ our God, emperor and ruler of the Romans and forever exalted,⁶ and on the other side are two women, and in between them a fountain with a tree, and from inside the tree a cross, and inscribed in the surround: God forbid that I should glory in anything save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ;⁷ and the said *joyau* is surrounded with two rubies, two sapphires and twenty large pearls all the way around; and hangs on a gold chain made of round gold buttons in the manner of paternosters; the said *joyau* Monseigneur bought in his city of Bourges from Antoine Manchin, merchant of Florence living in Paris, the 2nd day of November 1402, for the sum of 1,100 francs.

200. Item, another round *joyau* of gold, in high relief, where on one of the sides there is the figure of an emperor called Heraclius and a crescent, and his title inscribed in Greek, explained in French in this manner: Heraclius faithful in Lord Jesus Christ, emperor and ruler of the Romans, victorious and triumphant forever exalted; and on that same side is inscribed in Latin: Cause thy face to shine, O Lord; upon our darkness I will make war upon the heathen;⁸ and on the other [side] is the figure of said emperor holding a cross, seated in a chariot with three horses, and above his head are several lamps, and in the middle of the circle where the lamps are is a Greek inscription, explained in French as follows: Glory be in the Heavens to Christ Our Lord who broke the iron gates and redeemed the holy cross, Heraclius commanding. And the said *joyau* is surrounded with four sapphires and four large pearls, and hangs from a gold chain joined by two serpent heads.)

The original medallions were also replicated in copies. The inventories attest that the duke commissioned a gold replica of each medallion; unlike the originals, they were not set with jewels or suspended from chains.⁹ No gold examples survive, but they seem to have inspired multiples of the objects that soon appeared in other materials, including silver, which are documented in the Italian courts by the 1430s.¹⁰ The finest extant ones are



3. Limbourg brothers: *The meeting of the Magi*, from the *Très Riches Heures*, c.1411-16, Musée Condé, Chantilly. (Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, New York)

also silver, comprised of two thin *repoussé* shells soldered together. This jeweller's technique offers the appearance of a solid object.¹¹ The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris holds two of these: one example each of the Constantine and the Heraclius medallion (figs 1, 2).¹² The *repoussé* medallions duplicate the compositions and inscriptions of the originals as described in the inventory. It has always been assumed that their size follows that of the lost originals as well.¹³ Although it is difficult to date the manufacture of these *repoussé* copies, the method of their production, execution in a precious material and high quality of detail suggest that they derived from the same tradition as did the lost originals and are, likely, the closest extant reflections of the Berry medallions.¹⁴ Examples of this type may have served as models for the much more widely circulated and less finely articulated bronze and lead casts represented in many collections today.

As a result of this complex history of loss and replication, modern studies of the Constantine and Heraclius medallions concentrate on questions of attribution and iconographic analysis, but rarely consider the form of the original objects.¹⁵ The inventory states that Jean de Berry purchased the original Constantine medallion from an Italian merchant at Bourges in 1402. This was probably also

the source of the Heraclius medallion.¹⁶ The objects were paired in the inventory entries and, as we shall see, bear related inscriptions and imagery. While the purchase of the jewelled medallions from a merchant has long fuelled debate regarding their origins, it is quite possible that the original medallions were ducal commissions, brokered through the merchant.¹⁷

Recognising the Franco-Burgundian style of the extant copies, scholars have suggested various court artists, including the Limbourg brothers, as their creators,¹⁸ and indeed the medallions' imagery corresponds well with miniatures from the *Belles Heures* (c.1405-08/09) and the *Très Riches Heures* (c.1411-16) (fig. 3), books of hours executed by the Limbourgs and owned by Jean de Berry. That Hermann and Jean Limbourg were trained as goldsmiths suggests that they possessed the skills required to execute both the original medallions and the gold copies described in the inventory.¹⁹ However, in the absence of the original jewelled medallions, their attribution to the brothers assumes that the style of the extant copies faithfully replicates that of the objects in the ducal collections.²⁰ We cannot be certain about this, but the fact that the extant copies repeat both the inscriptions and imagery of the jewelled medallions suggests that this is the case.

The appearance of the original medallions and the models employed in their creation raise additional questions. Roman imperial coins may have inspired the equestrian image of Constantine and the profile portrait of Heraclius, but neither medallion has a direct numismatic precedent. While late medieval seals have been suggested as models for the scale of the medallions as well as their pairing of image and text, seals do not offer a precedent for the complex iconography of the duc de Berry's medallions.²¹ Byzantine *enkolpia*, a class of sacred objects that have not been considered in previous studies, appear to have provided a much closer model for the distinctive form, production method, Christian iconography, and function of the French medallions as objects of personal adornment. Literally meaning 'on the bosom', the Greek term *enkolpion* designates a variety of pendant objects worn about the neck and endowed with spiritual efficacy either through the imagery they bore or the relics they contained.²² The inventories document that the original medallions were both suspended from chains. They are further identified by inclusion in the section of the inventory dedicated to *joyaux* 'for the body [of the Duke]'.²³ Of particular interest for evoking a specifically Christian association is the description of the Constantine medallion as 'hang[ing] on a gold chain made of round gold buttons in the manner of paternosters', that is, rosary beads.

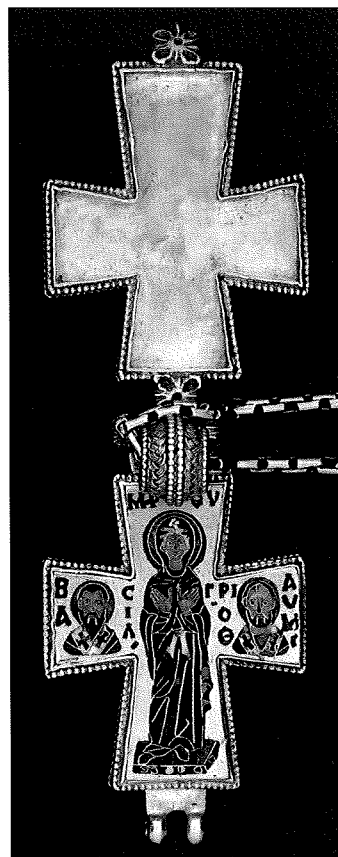
The Berry medallions have previously been linked to Byzantium on the grounds that the acquisition of the objects coincided with the embassy of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaeologus to Paris of 1400-02. Roberto Weiss recognised that the Greek and Latin inscriptions identifying Constantine and Heraclius on the medallions' obverses replicate Byzantine imperial

chancery formulas and were probably developed by scholars in the emperor's retinue.²⁴ Irving Lavin suggested that the pairing of an eastern and western emperor represented a response to Manuel's request for aid in the protection of Constantinople from Ottoman incursion.²⁵ Recognising the Constantine and Heraclius medallions as indebted to Byzantine religious models extends these definitions of the historical context, and hence the meaning, of the French objects.

One of the earliest documented examples of a Byzantine *enkolpion* in the west dates to 811, when Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, sent Pope Leo III a cruciform *enkolpion* containing a piece of the True Cross.²⁶ Extant examples generally recall that type, being hinged, pectoral crosses that can be opened to reveal relics within (fig. 4). The descriptions of the original Berry medallions are more closely aligned with circular or medallion *enkolpia*.²⁷ This form is exemplified by a fourteenth-century pendant at the Monastery of Vatopaidi on Mount Athos, which features images of Christ Pantocrator and St Demetrius (fig. 5).²⁸ Various examples of medallion *enkolpia* correspond with the descriptions of the original French objects: they are circular and crafted in gold or other precious materials, have a suspension loop consistent with their being worn, and feature either historiated religious imagery or portraits on two sides.²⁹ Surviving *enkolpia* also feature inscriptions around the perimeter or in the field in a manner similar to the Berry medallions.³⁰

Byzantine medallion *enkolpia*, including the Vatopaidi example illustrated here, are frequently composed from two thin gold sheets or separately cast shells. The central cavity is filled with a supporting material of wax, resin and, in some cases, relic particles.³¹ The gold beading or stones that surround such *enkolpia* serve either as clasps, holding the two shells together, or to disguise the join. An additional point of contact with the Berry medallions is suggested by the fact that they too were encircled with gems. It is possible that the original French objects were similarly composed from joined *repoussé* shells; indeed, we have seen that this is precisely the manner in which the finest extant copies were formed.

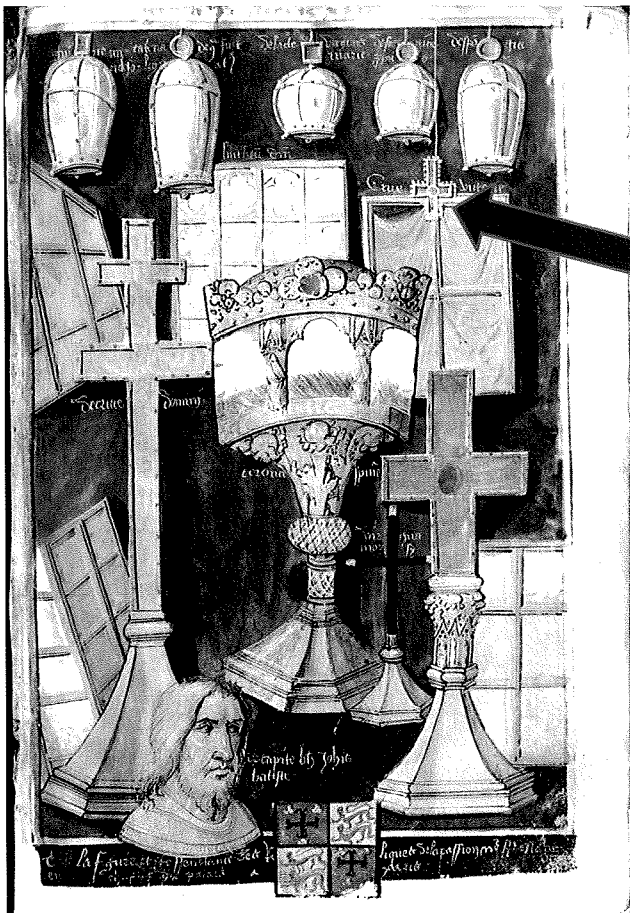
Reliquaries originating in Constantinople, particularly those containing relics of Christ's Passion, were prized in the courts of Europe. Their origins in the eastern Empire, which was revered as a repository of sacred objects and the gateway to the Holy Land, endowed Byzantine relics and reliquaries with superior sanctity.³² The reverence for and the desirability of these objects is signalled by the *Grande Châsse* at Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which contained more than twenty relics that the canonised Capetian king Louis IX (r.1226-70) had received from the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II, between 1239 and 1242.³³ The king's receipt of the relics preceded his participation in both the seventh (1248) and eighth (1270) crusades. Most famous among Louis' Byzantine relics were fragments of the Crown of Thorns and the



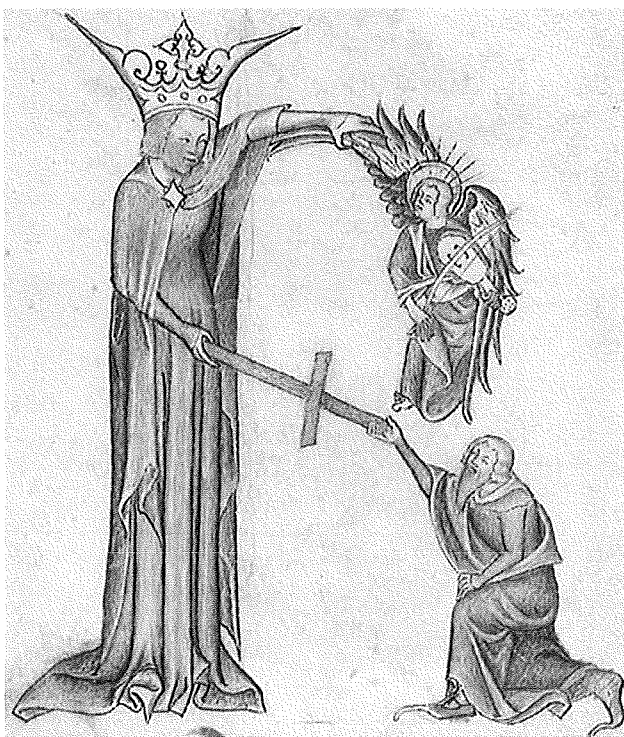
4. Reliquary Cross, early 11th century, gold and enamel, closed: 61.2 x 30.9mm., British Museum, London.



5. Double-sided Enkolpion with images of Christ Pantocrator and St Demetrius, 14th century, gilded silver, 36mm., Monastery of Vatopaidi, Mount Athos. From Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, Pitarakis and Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Enkolpia* (2001).



6. The 'Cross of Victory' with Passion Relics at Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, from *Psalter-hours*, c.1455-60, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. (Photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)



7. Jean de Berry receiving the relic of the True Cross from Charles V in 1372, document, Archives nationales, Paris. (Photo: courtesy l'Atelier photographique des Archives nationales)

True Cross. Numerous images of the Sainte-Chapelle treasury also document the presence of at least one cruciform *enkolpion*, known as the 'Cross of Victory', which was suspended from a chain and embellished with semi-precious stones (fig. 6).³⁴

Jean de Berry, the son, brother and uncle of successive French kings, would have been familiar with the treasures of Sainte-Chapelle.³⁵ Indeed, Jean possessed a fragment of Louis's True Cross relic, a gift from the duke's brother, king Charles V, in 1372. The document certifying the transmission of the relic features the standing figure of Charles handing the cross to the kneeling duke (fig. 7). The act is attended by an angel, whose body bridges the two figures; the group forms the initial letter K of 'Karolus'.³⁶ The cross that joins Jean to his brother also links both of them to their sanctified ancestor. The message of continuity and legitimacy signalled by the transmission of this relic was important for the duke.³⁷ After the death of Charles V in 1380, Jean and his brother Philippe (le Hardi), duc de Bourgogne, served as regents for the young Charles VI, positions they maintained until 1388. When Charles VI became mentally incapacitated in 1392, his uncles once again took control of the realm, initiating a period fraught with political turmoil and shifting alliances.³⁸

In response to these events Jean de Berry embarked upon a visual campaign that declared his royal heritage, piety and right to rule, in part by recalling the royal prerogatives embodied by Saint Louis. The monumental expression of that effort was his construction of his own Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges (begun c.1392), which emulated the famed foundation in Paris.³⁹ The building was designed to serve as the duke's burial place and to hold his piece of Saint Louis' relic of the True Cross. Between 1400 and 1402 Jean de Berry also received a group of relics from the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaeologus, which recalled those acquired by Saint Louis and included another relic of the True Cross.⁴⁰ The duke's receipt of these relics in the months immediately preceding the purchase of the Constantine and Heraclius medallions suggests their interrelated nature.

Relics served as important tools in the political arsenal of Byzantine emperors. Accounts of Manuel's embassy to the French court contain multiple descriptions of what has been called 'reliquary diplomacy' – gifts of sacred objects designed to ensure support for the protection of the eastern Empire.⁴¹ Jean de Berry's receipt of a relic of the True Cross from the emperor implied, at least ideologically, an obligation to aid in that effort. The duke's brother Philippe de Bourgogne mounted the unsuccessful Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396, but there is little indication that Jean was prepared to follow his lead and support a crusade.⁴² In the absence of military action, the Constantine and Heraclius medallions may have served as the duke's response to the imperial gift. Analysis of the form and iconography of the medallions suggests that they promoted the duke as a relic-protector and Christian warrior in the mode of Saint Louis.

Reliquaries and *enkolpia* were frequently carried into battle. The sacred particles that they contained (or evoked through their imagery) held an association with military endeavours that ultimately recalled the emperor Constantine's victory of AD 312 in the sign of the cross.⁴³ When Saint Louis's 'Cross of Victory' arrived in Paris, it was described as an object that 'the ancients called triumphal . . . [which] emperors . . . carried into combat in the spirit of victory.'⁴⁴ This helps to explain a feature of the Constantine medallion that has previously escaped notice: the emperor wears a pectoral cross which recalls the famed example from the treasury of Sainte-Chapelle. True to the function assigned to the 'Cross of Victory', the equestrian image of Constantine is a triumphal type, a signifier of the ancient ceremony of *adventus*, the victorious return of the emperor from battle. The visual reference to the 'Cross of Victory' suggests an analogy between the Berry medallion and the Byzantine *enkolpion* held in the treasury of Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. Both were worn objects that invoked the power of the True Cross.

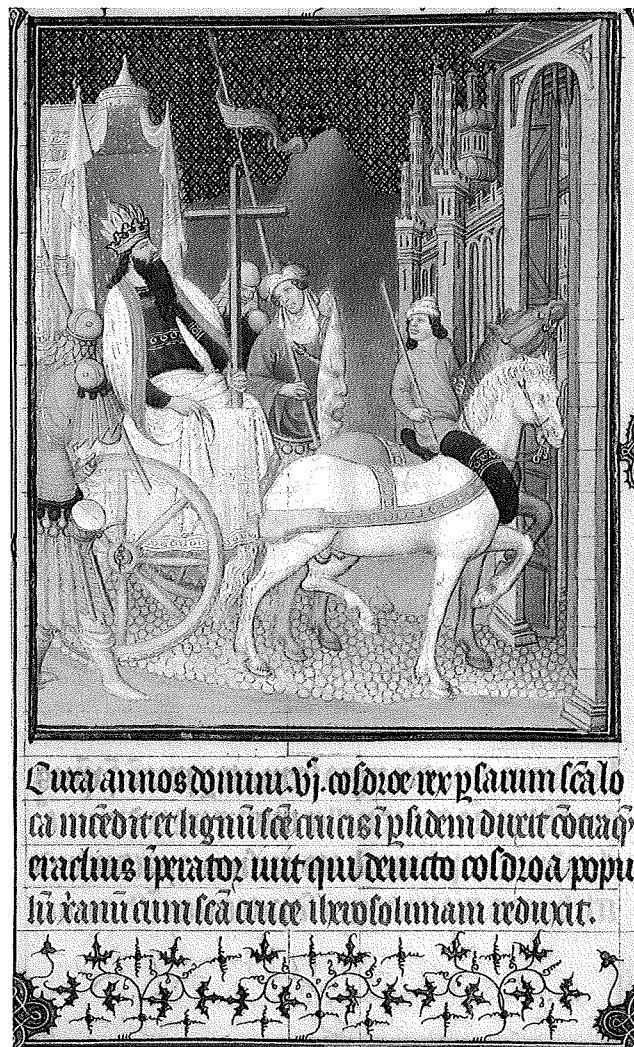
The military nature of *enkolpia* was frequently expressed in the images of military saints such as Demetrius and George that adorned these holy objects.⁴⁵ The fact that the Berry medallions depicted emperors, a usage unknown in authentic *enkolpia*, extends that same idea, now identifying the emperor himself as the model for the Christian soldier.⁴⁶ When these observations are considered in tandem, the Berry medallions appear as hybrid objects that recall the traditional alignment of *enkolpia* with righteous military efforts: the emperors are presented as victorious Christian warriors; the imagery is patently relic-focussed; and portions of the Greek and Latin inscriptions on each are paraphrased from the introits for the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross.⁴⁷

The Constantine medallion reverse continues the focus on the Cross seen on the obverse. The image shows two women, old and youthful, seated on either side of the Fountain of Life, from the centre of which emerges a cross. While the specific identities of the figures and their attributes remain the subject of debate, the image is certainly to be understood as an allegory of the redemptive power of the holy wood and thus a reference to the Holy Land.⁴⁸ The legend encircling the image, quoted from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians 6:14, translates as, 'God forbid that I should glory in anything save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.'⁴⁹ The imagery of the Heraclius medallion refers to the emperor's defeat of the Persian king Chosroes II (r.590-628), who stole the True Cross from Jerusalem in 627.⁵⁰ On the obverse, the Latin inscription in the right field, quoted from Psalm 66:2, translates, 'Cause thy face to shine, O Lord ...'.⁵¹ The inscription continues on the crescent moon below and makes clear the political focus of the image: '... upon our darkness; I will make war upon the heathen'.⁵² The Byzantine emperor is shown gazing upward at a mystical vision, indicated by the rays of light that shine upon him. The

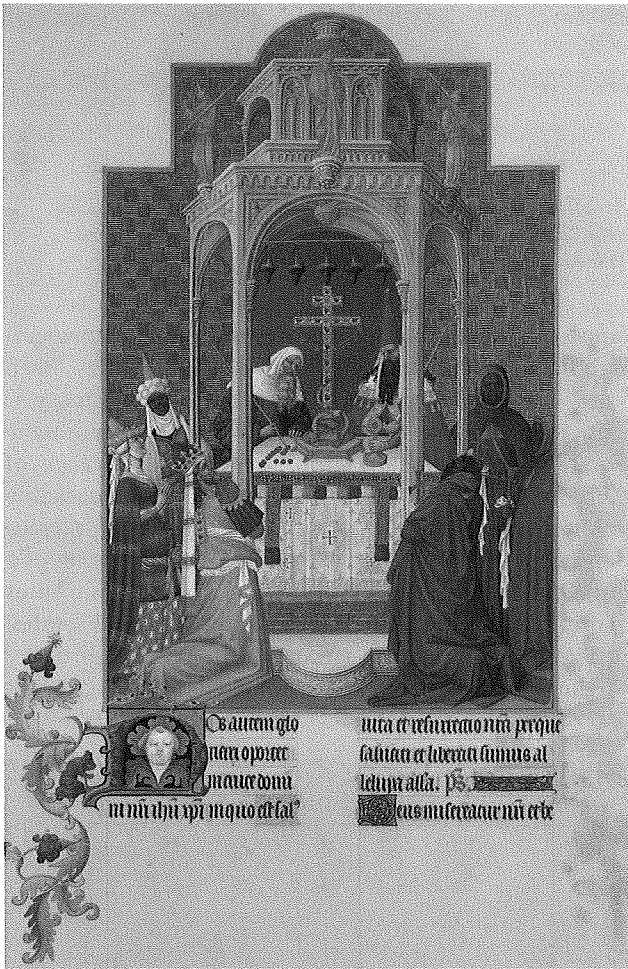


8. *Solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine, c.630, gold, 20mm., American Numismatic Society, New York. (Photo: courtesy of the American Numismatic Society)*

emperor's 'beard-combing' gesture was a medieval signifier of Christian inspiration that, it has been suggested, reinforced the bellicose tone of the image.⁵³ The emphasis on the beard also recalls numismatic portraits of Heraclius minted after his defeat of Chosroes, which show him with a remarkably voluminous beard, a notable departure from previous depictions of the emperor (fig. 8).⁵⁴ This adoption of a longer beard may well have signalled a victorious appropriation, since the beard was a traditional symbol of Persian kingship and virility.⁵⁵ The political imagery of the Berry medallion is completed by the crescent



9. *Limbourg brothers: Heraclius returning with the Cross, from the Belles Heures, c.1405-08/09, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, New York (acquired 1954; 54.1.1). (Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art)*



10. Limbourg brothers: Exaltation of the Cross, from the *Très Riches Heures*, c.1411-16, Musée Condé, Chantilly. (Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, New York)

moon, an Ottoman emblem that was also the ancient symbol of Constantinople, here used to announce the goal of the military efforts past and present.⁵⁶

The Heraclius medallion reverse depicts the emperor returning the True Cross to Jerusalem.⁵⁷ According to early medieval accounts summarised in the *Golden Legend*, as the emperor approached the city gates on horseback, dressed in imperial splendour, an angel barred his entry, requiring that he approach on foot in humility, in the manner that Christ himself had entered Jerusalem.⁵⁸ The image corresponds with a miniature from the Heraclius cycle in the *Belles Heures*, where the elaborated visual narrative includes the city gates (fig. 9). The medal and miniature share an unusual feature not previously included in depictions of Heraclius' entry, for the emperor was traditionally shown on horseback or on foot and never seated upon a cart or wagon.⁵⁹ The wagon may have been intended to recall a *tensa*, a specific type of ancient Roman vehicle that was reserved for the transport of sacred objects in circus processions and was adapted for Christian purposes during the early Middle Ages.⁶⁰ The Heraclius medallion reverse is remarkable for recalling medieval accounts of relic translations, including the use of

wagons and honorific lamps.⁶¹ This important addition to the Heraclius narrative reinforces the relic-focussed message of the medallion imagery.

When the formal and iconographic correspondences between the Constantine and Heraclius medallions and Byzantine *enkolpia* are considered in the context of Jean de Berry's political position and activities as a patron, they appear as elements within a larger effort intended to convey a message regarding the duke's elevated status at the French court. This is not to suggest that the original Constantine and Heraclius medallions were Byzantine objects or that they contained relics, for the ducal inventories would have noted such prestigious origins or contents.⁶² Rather, it is suggested here that the medallions combine references to the True Cross with a form that evoked a type of Christian object familiar at the French court. The attraction of this model lay in its eastern origins, its military associations and its power to recall the sacred objects acquired by Saint Louis in the thirteenth century.

The illustration of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross from the *Très Riches Heures* vividly evokes the heightened meaning that was probably attached to the Constantine and Heraclius medallions at the Berry court (fig. 10). The image features an altar dominated by an elaborately decorated double-transverse cross, a form that recalls the reliquary of the True Cross at Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.⁶³ What is remarkable is that medallions or coins have been strung together and affixed to either end of the cross in the manner of decoration, with similar objects visible on the altar table. Although it is impossible to give precise identifications of the objects depicted, the image is instructive for aligning numismatic and medallic material with Cross relics of the greatest sanctity.⁶⁴ Recognising the Berry medallions as imaginative recreations of a particular class of sacred object supports an expanded understanding of the origins of the Renaissance medal that includes imagery and forms evoking Christian antiquity.

Finally, this reading of the Constantine and Heraclius medallions makes necessary a reconsideration of Pisanello's adaptation of the Berry objects and their reception in the Italian courts. Scholars have proposed that Pisanello's medal depicting Manuel's son, the penultimate Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus, with a date during or soon after the emperor's attendance at the Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438-39), marks the first essay in what would become the distinctive Renaissance type of the cast medal (fig. 11).⁶⁵ It has also been recognised that the medal was grounded in the same political concerns as those reflected in the Berry medallions.⁶⁶ In reality, the visit of John Palaeologus was, like his father's trip to Paris nearly four decades before, motivated by the Ottoman threat to Constantinople, against which he sought aid from the west. That Pisanello's medal commissions came from members of the Este, Gonzaga and Malatesta families, all of whom claimed legitimacy for their rule and gained their fortune through military



11. Pisanello: John VIII Palaeologus, c.1438, bronze, 104mm., Victoria and Albert Museum, London. (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

endeavours, becomes relevant in this context. In one way or another they also were engaged in efforts to promote a campaign to reclaim the Holy Land. The emergence of the medal, in all its manifold complexity, including origins in a Christian, triumphal source, formed part of that larger effort.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Research for this paper was supported by a short-term pre-doctoral residency at Dumbarton Oaks, as well as an international dissertation semester research fellowship and a Penelope Mason dissertation research award from Florida State University. A version was presented at the Renaissance Society of America annual conference in 2009. I thank the session chairs, Dr Charles Rosenberg and Dr Arne Flaten, and my fellow presenters for their comments. Finally, I offer my deep gratitude to Dr Jack Freiberg for his critical acumen and invaluable guidance.

NOTES

1. Considerations of Pisanello's sources include G.F. Hill, 'Classical influence on the Italian medal', *Burlington Magazine*, xviii (1911), pp. 259-63, 266-8; Stephen K. Scher, 'Immortalitas in nummis: the origins of the Italian Renaissance medal', *Trésors monétaires*, suppl. 2 (1989), pp. 9-19; plates i-ix.
2. For a summary of the early literature, see R. Weiss, 'The medieval medallions of Constantine and Heraclius', *Numismatic Chronicle*, iii (1963), pp. 129-44. The most complete study is by Stephen K. Scher, 'The medals in the collection of the duke of Berry', M.A. thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1961. I thank Dr Scher for generously making a copy of his thesis available to me. For accessibility, I cite Scher's later publications in the following notes (when possible); see especially Scher in Stephen K. Scher, editor, *The currency of fame: portrait medals of the Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1994), pp. 32-7, 375.
3. Scher, 'The medals', pp. 31-35.
4. J.J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401-16)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1894-96).
5. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own. Translations of archaic French terms rely upon Randle Cotgrave, *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London, 1611); I would like to thank Jennifer Courts Naumann for bringing this resource to my attention. The entries are published by Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, i, pp. 72-3, nos 199, 200.
6. For the Latin translation, see Scher, *The currency of fame*, p. 33.
7. Scher, *The currency of fame*, p. 33.
8. Scher, *The currency of fame*, pp. 35-6.
9. Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, i, p. 73, nos 201, 202.
10. For copies of the Heraclius medallion in Ferrara, see Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon, *Pisanello: painter to the Renaissance court* (London, 2001), pp. 114, 146, n. 126.
11. Scher, *The currency of fame*, p. 32.
12. I thank Inès Villela-Petit at the Bibliothèque Nationale for facilitating my study of these works. I was also able to study the second *repoussé* example of the Constantine medallion of which I am aware, British Museum (M0269), thanks to Philip Attwood. For that object, see Mark Jones, 'The first cast medals and the Limbourgs: the iconography and attribution of the Constantine and Heraclius medals', *Art History*, ii (1979), plates 1 and 2.
13. Weiss, 'The medieval medallions', pp. 134-5.
14. It has been suggested that examples of the Constantine medallion that include Arabic numerals in the field (234 on the obverse and 235 on the reverse, as on the examples illustrated here) must not date before the late fifteenth century. See G.F. Hill, 'Note on the mediaeval medals of Constantine and Heraclius', *Numismatic Chronicle* (1910), pp. 110-16.
15. Study of the medallions is complicated by the fact that they are the only survivals of a series of objects depicting Roman rulers. The Berry inventories identify the other works as depicting Philip (the Arab), Tiberius and Augustus; Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, i, pp. 28-9, no. 55; pp. 70-71, no. 197; pp. 71-2, no. 198. For the group as forming a history of Christianity under imperial rule, see Julius von Schlosser, 'Die ältesten Medaillen und die Antike', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xviii (1897), pp. 75-84. These objects are excluded from discussion here due to the lack of extant visual evidence.
16. Scher, *The currency of fame*, p. 32.
17. For a brief summary of the origins assigned to the

medallions, see Weiss, 'The medieval medallions', pp. 129-31. For the suggestion that the merchant may have served to broker the ducal commission, see Jones, 'The first cast medals', pp. 38-40.

18. For the attribution to the Limbourgs, see Jones, 'The first cast medals', pp. 38-40. The works have also been attributed to the court painter Michelet Saulmon, by W. von Bode, 'Die Medaille von Johann Duc de Berry und ihr mutmasslicher Künstler Michelet Saulmon', *Archiv für Medaillen- und Plaketten-kunde*, iii (1921), pp. 1-11. Also see Scher, 'The medals', pp. 107-11; Scher, *The currency of fame*, p. 32.

19. For this suggestion, see Jones, 'The first cast medals', p. 39. On the Limbourgs' training, see Millard Meiss, *French painting in the time of Jean de Berry: the Limbourgs and their contemporaries*, 2 vols (New York, 1974), i, pp. 67, 130.

20. For questions of variation in style between the extant copies and the originals, see Scher, 'The medals', pp. 35-7.

21. Scher, 'The medals', pp. 99-104, 110-11; for the Duke de Berry's seals, see René Gandhilion, *Inventaire des sceaux du Berry: antérieurs à 1515* (Bourges, 1933), pp. 1-5, plates ix, xi-xv.

22. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., editors, *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols (New York and Oxford, 1991), i, p. 700. Recent studies include Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, Brigitte Pitarakis and Katia Loverdou-Tsagarida, *Enkolpia: The holy and great monastery of Vatopaidi* (Mount Athos, 2001), pp. 13-18; Anna Kartsonis, 'Protection against all evil: function, use and operation of Byzantine historiated phylacteries', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, xx (1994), pp. 73-102.

23. Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, i, pp. vii-viii, civ-cv, 57-98, 344.

24. Weiss, 'The medieval medallions', pp. 138-41.

25. Irving Lavin, 'Pisanello and the invention of the Renaissance medal', in Joachim Poeschke and Francis Ames-Lewis, editors, *Italianische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Spätmittelalter: Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang* (Munich, 1993), pp. 67-84.

26. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al., *Enkolpia*, p. 13; Kartsonis, 'Protection', pp. 79-80.

27. This typology is based on that offered for the group of sixty-four *enkolpia* held at the Monastery of Vatopaidi by Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al., *Enkolpia*, pp. 14-18.

28. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al., *Enkolpia*, pp. 132-3, no. 46.

29. Other examples include, Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al., pp. 128-31, no. 45 (51 mm.); pp. 134-5, no. 47 (oval, 45mm. ht., 48 mm. w.). While the average diameter of these particular *enkolpia* is considerably smaller than the copies of the Berry medallions, larger *enkolpia* also exist. Of course, the size of the original French medallions is uncertain. These examples have been chosen here for their conformity with the descriptions of the Berry medallions on various points, but especially for their sealed form (see n. 31).

30. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al., pp. 70-71, no. 20 (oval, 43mm. ht., 33 mm. w.).

31. I would like to thank Dr Stephen Zwirn for bringing this form to my attention. On the type, see Marvin Ross, 'A Byzantine gold medallion at Dumbarton Oaks', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xi (1957), pp. 256, 259-61; Brigitte Pitarakis, 'Objects of devotion and protection', in Derek Krueger, editor, *Byzantine Christianity* (Minneapolis, 2006), pp. 176-7. For examples with visible fill, see Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al., *Enkolpia*, pp. 102-3, no. 34 (rectangular, 37mm. ht., 46mm. w.); pp. 106-7, no. 36 (rectangular, 52 mm. ht., 62 mm. w.); pp. 161-2, no. 62 (rectangular, 35mm. ht., 39mm. w.); Luciano Bellosi, editor, *L'oro di Siena: il tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala* (Milan, 2001), pp. 105-6, no. 3 (30mm.).

32. Holger A. Klein, 'Eastern objects and western desires: relics and reliquaries between Byzantium and the west', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, lviii (2004), pp. 283-314.

33. Jannic Durand and Marie-Pierre Lafitte, editors, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 2001), pp. 52-89.

34. Durand and Lafitte, *Le trésor*, pp. 53, 85, 113-37. The illustration is from MS M.67, fol. 1r, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, gift of J.P. Morgan, 1924.

35. For the biography, see Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berry, sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416)*, 4 vols (Paris, 1966-68).

36. The document is Paris, Archives nationales, AE/II/393. See Millard Meiss, *French painting in the time of Jean de Berry: the late fourteenth century and the patronage of the duke*, 2 vols (New York, 1967), i, p. 38; ii, fig. 475.

37. For the prevalence of this type of message of dynastic continuity, see Colette Beaune, *The birth of an ideology: myths and symbols of nation in late-medieval France*, translated by Susan Ross

Huston, edited by Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley, 1991), esp. pp. 181-93.

38. See Lehoux, *Jean de France*, ii, pp. 261-527; and the summary in J.B. Bury et al., *The Cambridge medieval history* (Cambridge, 1932), vii, *Decline of empire and papacy*, pp. 368-79.

39. Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot and Clémence Raynaud, editors, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges: une fondation disparue de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Bourges, 2004), esp. pp. 25-36.

40. For the relics, see Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, ii, pp. 35-6, no. 214; pp. 40-41, no. 274. Acquisition dates are not specified, but the items were inventoried on 18 December 1401 and 2 January 1402. Manuel arrived in Paris on 3 January 1400. See John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): a study in late Byzantine statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), esp. pp. 165-99.

41. See Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 130-31, 176-77, 183, 408; Klein, 'Eastern objects', pp. 310-12; Sophia Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine emperors and holy relics: use, and misuse, of sanctity and authority', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, li (2001), pp. 41-60.

42. For Philippe's financing of the Nicopolis campaign, see Kenneth M. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant*, 4 vols (Philadelphia, 1976), i, pp. 344-6.

43. There exists an extensive bibliography regarding carrying relics of the True Cross into battle. See A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961); A. Frolov, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1965). On the protective function of worn medallions without relics, see Pitarakis, 'Objects of devotion', pp. 176-7.

44. The document is Paris, Archives nationales, L 620 no. 2. It is published in Durand and Lafitte, *Le trésor*, pp. 49-50, no. 11.

45. This is especially true of *enkolpia* dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For this, see Pitarakis, 'Objects of devotion', pp. 166-7, 177; Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al., *Enkolpia*, p. 17.

46. Certainly imperial portraits are featured in other types of Byzantine jewellery, especially those incorporating numismatic material, which fall outside the present study. For examples of jewellery with imperial portraits, see Marvin C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and early mediaeval antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks collection*, ii, *Jewelry, enamels and art of the migration*, with addendum by Susan A. Boyd and Stephen R. Zwirn, 2nd edition (Washington, D.C., 2005), p. 135, no. 179a, plates xcii-xciii; pp. 144-59, nos 180-81, plates c-cviii.

47. The inscriptions found on the medallions have been frequently published. For the sake of brevity, full transcriptions are omitted and the reader is referred to the transcriptions, translations and references provided by Scher, *The currency of fame*, pp. 32-7. For the introits, see Lavin, 'Pisanello', pp. 69-70, 75, n. 10.

48. For a summary of figure identifications, see Jones, 'The first cast medals', pp. 36-9, 40-41.

49. Scher, *The currency of fame*, p. 33.

50. For the textual sources for and iconography of the legend,

see Barbara Baert, *A heritage of holy wood: the legend of the True Cross in text and image*, translated by Lee Preedy (Leiden and Boston, 2004).

51. Scher, *The currency of fame*, pp. 35-6.

52. Scher, *The currency of fame*, pp. 35-6.

53. For this line of argument, see Irving Lavin, 'Michelangelo, Mosè e il "papa guerriero"', in Aldo Galli, editor, *Il ritratto nell'Europa del cinquecento: atti del convegno (Firenze, 7-8 novembre 2002)* (Florence, 2007), pp. 199-215.

54. Lavin, 'Michelangelo', p. 207. For the coins, see Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection* (Washington, D.C., 1968), ii, *Phocas – Theodosius III, 602-717*, 1, esp. pp. 90-91, 218.

55. Lavin, 'Michelangelo', pp. 207-208.

56. Scher, *The currency of fame*, p. 37; Lavin, 'Michelangelo', pp. 208-9.

57. For the inscriptions and an explanation of the gates that they describe as references to Heraclius's defeat of the Persians, see Scher, *The currency of fame*, pp. 36-7.

58. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: readings on the saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993), ii, pp. 169-70.

59. This was noted but not elaborated upon by Meiss, *French painting* (1974), i, pp. 131-2. On Heraclius iconography, see Barbara Baert, 'New observations on the genesis of Girona (1050-1100): the iconography of the legend of the True Cross', *Gesta*, xxxviii, 2 (1999), p. 123.

60. For the adaptation of ancient ceremonial to the translation of relics, see Nikolaus Gussone, 'Adventus-Zeremoniell und Translation von Reliquien Victorius von Rouen, De laude sanctorum', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, x (1976), pp. 125-33. The medallion image corresponds closely with a third-century Roman relief from a sarcophagus lid in the British Museum (1805,0703.145), which includes a *tensa*. For *tensa*, see *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, 7 vols (Los Angeles, 2004-6), i, p. 42.

61. Kenneth Holum and Gary Vikan, 'The Trier ivory, *Adventus* ceremonial, and the relics of St Stephen', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxxiii (1979), pp. 117-19, 121, n. 39.

62. On notations of Byzantine origins in the inventories, see Lavin, 'Pisanello', pp. 71, 76, n. 23.

63. Meiss, *French painting* (1974), i, pp. 217, 469, n. 576.

64. The identification of the figures surrounding the altar has been the subject of much debate. For a discussion of that issue and an identification of the coins in the image as referring to ecclesiastical tithes, see Meiss, *French painting* (1974), i, pp. 217-22.

65. The classic study of the Palaeologus medal is that of Roberto Weiss, *Pisanello's medallion of the emperor John VIII Palaeologus* (London, 1966).

66. Lavin, 'Pisanello', pp. 68, 73-74.

